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Alqunstin is ceremonially, but inaccurately, called *Sun*, the Sun.

Though *Alqunstin* often sojourns in the sun, his home is in the far land above the sky, a huge house which figures prominently both in Bella Coola mythology and present-day thought. The name of the house is *Nacmāt-a*. It resembles those constructed on this earth, but is boundless in size. Like the houses of human beings, its name is changed according to what is taking place within. Every autumn the supernatural beings gather there to await the coming of *Alqunstin* at the winter solstice; while waiting they pass the time by performing the equivalent of the earthly *Secret* dances (II, chap.). This assemblage is termed *qalowaic*, and the house, during this period, *Nacqaiwaicta*.

The following names of the house, with meanings, were obtained:

Nacmāt-a, "The Place of Myths."

Nacqaiwaicta, "Where Everything Was Begun."

Nacqāiāhwaicta, "The Place Whence Came the Falling Down."

Nacqāwaicta, "The Place Where Mankind was Made."

Nacqāqunāiwaicta, "The Place Where *Alqunstin* Speaks."

Nacqaiwaicta, "The Place of the *Qalowaic*."

Nacqāwaicta, "The Place of Meeting," or "The Council House."

Nacqaiwaiāk. The meaning of this word is unknown.

Nacqaiwaiāwāk, "The Moving House." The significance of this last name rests on an ancient myth in which the house [illegible] ling from place to place.

To grasp the [illegible] sary to understand the creation. The origin or birth of [illegible] world, in the [illegible] animal or vegetable life, therefore, the

[illegible] nificance of these designations it is necessary to understand the beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the creation. The mythology contains no account of the origin or birth of *Alqunstin* himself, nor of the making of this world, in the beginning of time no living creature, either animal or vegetable existed with the exception of *Alqunstin*. He, therefore, decided to alter and populate the world and

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and eagles whom he invites to devour it. In so doing, he does not address them by their usual names, but calls Wolf, *Alhwa-yumm*, "The Devourer of Meat Which He Does Not Kill," that is, "The Biting Scavenger"; and Eagle, *Asaikaiyaxmaxmm*, "The Constant Eater," that is, "The One Who Eats before He Is Hungry." Next morning the flesh has been devoured and the hunter believes his guests have eaten it. Animals and birds, being supernatural, can hear the words of mortals and read their thoughts. The significance of these actions is that animals have the power to conceal themselves, so a hunter must gain their favour before he can hope to succeed. Belief in the efficacy of such customs as these is rapidly falling into decay and bear meat is now often eaten, but the skull is carefully placed in an evergreen tree near where the animal is slain, so that it may come back to life.

Fish, likewise, are immortal. In autumn the streams are choked with dead and dying salmon, but the Bella Coola know that they are not really dead, they have merely shed their worthless blankets in accordance with *Alquntin*'s decrees. At that season of the year he causes the rivers to rise so that they will sweep away these useless and outworn cloaks.

Although the salmon, from the kindness of their hearts, allow human beings to feast on their blankets, yet they have certain likes and dislikes which are carefully observed. From the time the first spring salmon appear (I, pp. 759-761) until the rising of the July moon, women are not allowed to eat them or to go near the river. Men may eat the flesh, but instead of throwing the bones to dogs, they carefully return them to the river saying:

"Please come back tomorrow."

If this is inconvenient, bones can be thrown into the woods with impunity.

Salmon, like men and animals, live a human-like existence in their homes far beneath the surface of the ocean. They lack and desire earthly objects, especially pounded cedar-bark (see Appendix A) to use as sponges for their children, so the Bella Coola throw pieces of it and eagle down on the water.

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Raven, perhaps made conceited by this power, did not always use it for good purposes. He learnt many new inventions which he taught to the Bella Coola, but sometimes he indulged in adventures of an obscene nature. In fact, he was often too "smart." The Bella Coola relate many tales concerning his exploits. These are all mere stories, such as can be told by anyone, and they fall into two classes. One comprises humorous anecdotes, describing how Raven tried to show off, to outwit other birds and animals, and his consequent discomfiture. These belong to the realm of mythology and are recorded in vol. II, chap. v. In addition, there are stories describing the inventions and boons obtained by Raven; these are given in detail here as the only satisfactory means of illustrating the attitude of the Bella Coola towards Raven.

The first Raven, to whom *Alquntám* granted such power, is not regarded as a bird, but essentially as a superman, with the kindly characteristics of a human being, and the weakness of a conceited individual who is always trying to display his prowess. The ordinary word used for a raven is *qmax*, but this first Raven is properly referred to by his titles as chief, *Nemaklis*; *Ẍmaxmdmots*, "The Light-Bringer"; *Kilakumxmx*, "The Wise One"; *Na'xwaxlaxmxsis*, "The Widower";* *Kaxgmxmx alklit qmax*, "The Unknown of Light";* *Qax dzemila*, *Qmxi klo*, and *Qmxi*. The Bella Coola do not explain what happened to this first *Nemaklis*; he appears to have dropped out of existence, and his power has not been transmitted to his descendants, the ravens of today. They are regarded as birds, with but the slightest trace of their ancestor's greatness. The Bella Coola know of the beliefs of the Kitkatla concerning Raven, and say that in the north he is esteemed only a little less than the supreme deity himself. But in Bella Coola the exploits of Raven are always considered to be due to the power given him by *Alquntám*, whose assistant he was, although he delighted to show his own prowess by outwitting his maker.

*Reasons for it supposed to have withdrawn from the world of the first author, owing to the manner in which Raven is supposed to have swindled the sun.

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614 extinct, are unusual; normally, the group is largely centred in
621. one village, but with members scattered in other localities.
There is no central organization. It is generally recognized
that such a unit belongs in the village where its first ancestors
settled, and the leading chief of that village is, therefore, an
[622] important person in the family, though without status of
[553] "head" of it. His advice may be appealed to in cases of dis-
putes concerning names, but he lacks judicial authority. Theo-
retically, the descendants of the elder of two first people are
considered as "elder brothers and elder sisters" of those des-
cended from a younger brother or sister; but this is nothing
more than an accepted fact; it plays no part in the social life
of the community.

552 In addition to human names, the origin myths include those
614 applied to dogs. The first ancestral group had dogs, and these
793 animals had names, or were given them by their powerful
masters. Ever since that time their descendants can apply
these designations to their own dogs. It is unnecessary to
validate such names, but no two canines can be given the same
one at the same time, according to the rule which governs the
bestowal of human names. This matter was not investigated
[539] in detail, and the only dog's name collected was one for which
the origin myth is as follows:

[54] When Tā'ō was first settled in the beginning of time, the houses were built in parallel rows, one above the other, up the side of a steep knoll. At the very top was a toilet-house, built over such a steep incline that excrement rolled down the hillside. In consequence, one of the early chiefs living there gave to his dog the name, *Hēlqēmaut ā' mutl*, "Rolling excrement," which has since been preserved in the ancestral family of his descendants.

LAND

124 Great difficulty was experienced in obtaining information
433 about land tenure. The Bella Coola cannot keenly the way in
177 which their land has been occupied by white settlers without,
according to their standpoint, proper compensation. Com-

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554 it to the digestive tract. After a man has given four potlatches
556 he feels superior to those who have been unable to do likewise.
622 His name is "bright," "clean," "heavy," "firm," or "upright"
[578] in Bella Coola terms, and so, likewise, his seat. He feels independent and proud. Such a chief will fearlessly enter the back-room where ceremonial rites are taking place, even if not entitled to do so.

"He is so strong, he can go where he will," say the Bella Coola.

The advice of such a man is taken because of his ability and prestige, especially by the members of his own family. A few years ago, for example, when a certain Bella Coola died, his brother wished a *hamat* name-prerogative of the deceased to pass to the dead man's daughter. The girl's mother's father, a *nuxalt* chief, objected, and his desires were followed, although the name in question was not connected in any way with his family. In small matters, too, people gladly carry out the
[592] wishes of a chief. Work around the house is done for him without thought of disobedience. An old man was asked whether, when he was young, chiefs gave many orders and acted as masters in their households.

"You bet," the old man answered emphatically with a dry chuckle.

231 It is difficult now to form an accurate estimate, from observation, of the influence of chiefs solely through virtue of the
• 552 goods they have expended. But the following is a concrete
622 example. In November, 1923, the writer, while walking through the Bella Coola village, was bitten by a dog. He was told that the animal belonged to a certain old woman. When next he saw the owner he asked her whether she knew that her dog attacked passers-by.

"Yes," she answered, in a matter-of-fact tone, "He is a chief and can do what he likes."

Further questioning elicited the information that the old woman and her husband, the childless last survivors of an ancestral family, had transmitted some of their ancestral
[644]

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names to their dog, and had distributed presents to validate the bestowal. Consequently, the animal is a chief (se Plate 11) and can do as he likes. When it dies it will be mourned as a chief. Moreover, a number of people have returned the presents which they received at the time the dog wasmade a chief, and this money is kept by the woman and her husband, to be used when they perform the rite of mourning forthe dog at death.

When this is possible, in the present degenerate dys, it is not difficult to understand how, formerly, a great chief felt himself above the restraints that hindered lesser men. The last great Bella Coola chief was *Pashe*, who died between 1870 and 1880. His influence and power were so great that he was a virtual ruler, daring anything. If he requested a yung man to take his dead here home and the youth was slow o obey, *Pashe* had no hesitation in killing him on the spot. Such great power, though unusual, is intelligible to the Bella Coola, since *Pashe* gave far more potlatches than any of his contemporaries. Other chiefs have been known to attempt a similar rbitrary use of power, but have failed, since their prestige was ot great enough to justify it. The fame of a mighty chief spreads up and down the coast, and protects him and the members of his family from being ambushed and slain in any sporadic fawy. During an actual fight, however, a chief has to take his chances with the rest, but the comparative immunity was a great advantage.

The Bella Coola recognize the fundamental differences between their own concepts about chiefs hip and those of other coastal tribes with whom they come in contact. This point was mentioned in the course of conversation by several men. The most powerful chief known to them was *Tsakus*, who, they say, was virtual monarch of the Kitkatla. None of his subjects could go hunting without his permission, and he had rights to a certain share of their booty. At any ceremony presents had first to be given to him, and if he were slighted in this respect, he would kill the offender. It is be-

[See ms. 116, p 46 (c) - ANALYST]

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chief to pay somewhat lavishly, since the value of the copper depends on the amount expended on it.

The $10 received by the poor man must not be casually spent. He is expected to invite the whole village to his house, otherwise he would never again be given a copper. The heralds call everyone to the house, the singers as usual being the first to arrive. They beat out the *kuziut* song of anyone, to which the owner dances; the songs are used one after another, until almost every member of the society has danced. *Sisaok* songs may then be used in the same way. Since the supernatural beings are not present, the rite has no religious significance; it is merely a social affair. At the close of the dancing, the poor man distributes food to all, equivalent in value to the money received. It is probable that poor men sometimes give away slightly less than they have received, although any noticeable laxity in this would be punished by the receipt of no further coppers. The recipient of a copper from a fire derives no direct gain from it, though it is to his indirect advantage, since a person who has given away food is likely to receive larger presents on future occasions than one who has not.

Meanwhile the chief owning the copper is unable to use it at his potlatch since the value, dependent on the goods expended for it, is only $10, a sum so small that to use it would be insulting to his dead ancestor. There are several ways of increasing its value:

(1) *By Painting.* Taking advantage of some ceremony when a number of people are present, the owner gives a carpenter $10, for example, with a request that he paint on his copper a representation of the crest used by his, the owner's, first ancestor, when coming to this earth. Henceforth the value of the copper is $30.

(2) *By Naming.* The Bella Coola say that among the Kwakiutl names are given to almost all coppers; in Bella Coola it is a rare practice. Occasionally, a chief creates a name for his copper and validates this by presents to all the

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village at some ceremony, exactly as a child's name is conferred. Designations are chosen with respect to the appearance of the copper, or some incident connected with its history. Such a designation is *Qwaiwus*, "Begrimed," applied to a copper thrown many times into the fire. If, for instance, $50 be expended for a name, the value of a $30 copper is henceforth $80. 435 552 556*

(3) *By Making Gifts.* The owner of a copper can increase its value by calling together the other chiefs of his village, and sometimes of adjacent ones as well. After the customary meal, the owner expounds the history of his possession, giving details of its value. Then he passes it to one of his guests, who, unless he wishes to insult his host, must hold it upright, that is, with the broad end uppermost. The owner gives it in turn to each of his guests. To validate the display, the owner must bestow gifts on all present, and the total value of these is added to the value of the copper. Such gifts are not strictly returnable, although it is customary for chiefs to show their generosity and prowess to their fellows by a later repayment with interest. 435 556* [578] [426]

By these means the original purchaser of a worthless copper can increase its value to such a point that it can be used at a potlatch. There is no established custom about this. Coppers are not as valuable in Bella Coola as, for instance, at Fort Rupert, and it is unlikely that any are ever worth more than $300, and the average value is probably between $150 and $200. Considerable time is required to raise the value of a copper to this sum and the owner in many cases finds that he has all the other requirements before his copper is ready for use. In that case, he tries to buy another which has been raised to sufficient worth by its owner. Everyone knows the values of the different coppers in the community, and the intending purchaser calls his fellow-chiefs to his house and offers to buy one valued, for example, at $150. If the owner consents to sell, he usually endeavours to get as much as possible, perhaps $175. The sum is publicly paid and is henceforth the value of the copper, which is transmitted to the new [771] 435 437 556*

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534 In course of time, as they grew wealthy, they were able to summon people from far and near for potlatches. This in turn enabled them to validate several names which they had brought from above. *Ilpentlw* had given *Nuxmalkumut* a box containing whistles for *hamat'sa* rites. He used them and bestowed on one of his sisters the name *Nuxcemut*, a *hamat'sa* designation still in existence. When the roof of the house was opened light shone through, from which circumstance the name *Xyuxl* was acquired at one of their annual potlatches. Not only was *Nuxmalkumut* able to validate designations which *Ilpentlw* had given him, but he created several new ones as well. He gave to his sisters the names *Kkipxmkkwm* and *Kpkmxlnakw*; the latter means "Rising Dust," with reference to the dust rising from the floor of the house as *Nuxmalkumut* threw down the ornaments which he was about to give away to his guests.

[551] All the names mentioned in this myth have been preserved. That of *Nuxmalkumut* is held in especial esteem by the people of *Xnoa*. It means "Head of the River," referring to the point where he came to this [552] earth. Even *Nuxmalkumut* is still in use, applied to a dog as the owner has no children.

THIRD ORIGIN MYTH OF *Xnoa*[a]

In the beginning *Ilpentlw* were down to *Snaxa·n*, at the head of the Chuwanan, a branch of the Bella Coola River, four brothers, *Alkai*, *Dudzemq*[a], *Nkaxkikai*, and one whose name has been forgotten, with their sisters, *Kkaikka* and *Q'wiqlkai*. *Dudzemq*[a] had brought with him from above as a present from *Ilpentlw* some chickens in connection with which one of the large ones shaped whistles used in *wanek* ceremonials. The two women cried because they had no house. But presently they thought they were in one with a wonderfully painted roof, in reality it was the sky and the decorations were brightly shining stars. By means of their supernatural power, for they were not yet mortals, they induced the fowlmen to work until suppose that it was really a house in which the one-dimensional sky we read. Taking this shelter with them, the six set out east day for *Pnxnut*, a point on the mainland opposite the north end of Vancouver Island. They travelled down the valley of a river which rises not far from the *Snaxa·n* source of the Bella Coola. *Alkai* and his relatives did not like the language of the people living at *Pnxnut*, so they returned to *Snaxa·n*, taking with them some of the fowl

[a] Related by Snaxaxkum Amelia.

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$539 In course of time *Snaphkhle* became so wealthy that he was able to call people from far and near for a potlatch. He built a house identical in every particular with that of *Semqmx* as he had seen it. He bestowed on his children not only the names which *Semqmx* gave to him, but also [557] two which he took from what he had seen, *Lexc*, the whale which was outside the front of the house, and *Lhkhlhc*, the significance of which could not be determined.

[552] These two designations have since been transmitted in this family, and now have bestowed on a dog, there being no children left.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Tsi'is*[a]

In the beginning of time, *Sqaomtin* sent down to this world a man, *Ki'nsulaxts*, with his two sisters, *Hlixendzu*, "The Abalone-Shell Woman," and *Hlhkuhs-tsellhm*, "The One with Abalone on Her Hat." The three landed on an island several miles in circumference, formed of an enormous abalone shell; its location is now unknown, but it was somewhere in the south, presumably not far from Vancouver. There they dwelt for some time and began to construct a house for themselves out of the shell. All the time they longed to travel in search of a desirable place to settle, but they lacked means of transportation. At this juncture Raven appeared, and offered them a canoe if they would promise to use it. They readily agreed and presently the supernatural bird returned with one. It was a *tqmaxtk*, one of the mythical monsters who live beneath the ocean and each dawn small craft by opening their mouths.

Ki'nsulaxts and his sisters embarked. They had decorated their hats and blankets with abalone shell and took with them a large store of the same material. Raven perched on the bow and croaked whenever they drew near a landing place. After traveling a considerable distance, they saw smoke rising, and presently noticed a house. *Ki'nsulaxts* landed to investigate and found it occupied by a solitary woman, *Tlelemtlaqoaten*, the place where she lived was called *Nqaoaklan*, probably on Johnson Point. *Ki'nsulaxts* asked her to accompany the party as his sister (meaning here a non-investigatible female relative, not an own sister). She agreed after much discussion. The four continued their travels until they drew near Fort Rupert, where they saw more smoke. As before, *Ki'nsulaxts* landed and found another solitary woman, *Kmel'klel'yukun*, whom he also persuaded to join the group as his sister. The five were passed on to Rivers Inlet, where Raven vanished. The others thought he had left them here, unknown to them all, he had severed *Tlelemtlaqoaten's* body. They paddled as far as the lake at the head of Rivers Inlet where they abandoned

[a] Related by Mrs. Schooner

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he travelled the whole distance on a single billow, or asked to be sent on a four-billow wave. His canoe was a sea-lion's stomach, into which he climbed through the mouth and which he made watertight by tying up the entrance with the animal's entrails. Whether or not the creature was alive is not clear, but as soon as the man set off in the strange craft he felt as if he were on the back of an animal which made long, slow, slow bounds; it was the slow surging of a gigantic Pacific combor. After four bounds he arrived the rock and found himself at home.

Bc
[55]
55

Certain names have been preserved from this myth. The name Nuqua is now used by a dog, as the owner is the last of his family. Another name is Tlaxnaqamit, "The Creek," derived from the metallic sound of the closing door of the sea-lion house. The name Nusmoos was also obtained inside the house, but the details of its significance are lost.

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[178]
[101]

AN EARLY MYTH OF *Kitkitla*[1]

As has been said, ambitious individuals, especially if they lack origin myths of the customary kind, sometimes claim ordinary stories as such. The following is almost certainly a case in point. It was obtained from an unreliable informant, who claimed it as a family myth, and said he had used it as a potlatch. He asserted that it was a Bella Bella story, transmitted through the marriage of one of his ancestors with a Bella Bella woman. Another informant, well versed in Bella Bella folk-lore, recounted another version of the same myth on a more vain. There seems little doubt that the first narrator had merely laid claim to a common story to supply the deficiency of a true myth.

In the beginning there once dwelt in world at the head of the bay, Kitkitla, a solitary man whose name was Gixala'a. He was so lonely that he made for himself from soft punky wood a woman, dressed her in blankets and clothing, and gave her the name, Qaa'lens, which is in the Bella Bella language. Gixala'a was a great hunter, every day he went out to seek mountain goats, which provided him with great quantities of grease, as well as yarn that he wove into blankets. Before leaving the house he always placed Qaa'lens in front of a loom, put food beside her and told her to eat as much as she liked and to work diligently.

[1]Related by Kwaqala Alex.

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Nalqúalem: An influential Kwakiutl chief.
Nalus: Bella Coola pronunciation of a Carrier village; the Anglicized form is Ulkatcho.
nalyaem: To lose something through *lealty* concealment; the term is used to describe a *doctor* who is alleged to have suffered loss through the discovery of his repository by an uninitiated person.
nalukmaiX: Grease extracted from sockeye salmon heads.
Nalúnlis: Ancestral name of a *Snaw* chief, the designation is of Kwakiutl origin.
nalús-ens: 1—Spider.
2—Place on the east side of South Bentinck Arm where canoe ore allegedly, the power is derived from a spider petrified there.
Nálus, "Place of the Whirlpool": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
Nalustcmaíjus, "The One Whose Seat is Dusty": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.
Nalúpmaut di mutá, "The Rolling Down of Excrement": Dog's name.
Nalúlcmemen: 1—Supernatural being who leaves his home at the time of *Nusiyamut*'s departure to warn *doctors* to tidy their houses for the ceremonial season.
2—To tidy the houses preparatory to the ceremonial season.
Nalúlelsis, "The One Whose Eyes Are Hungry": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.
nalúsm: Presents given by a *chief* to his fellow-villagers prior to a *potlatch*.
Nalúlqaiaut, "Place of Many Boulders": Ancient village on the Kwsitsa River.
Nalúsqumaxtsa: One of the four women to settle at *Tal'es* in the beginning of time.
nalutlcmaxtsális: Fastenings, especially those of plumage or skins worn by the first settlers when coming down to earth in the beginning of time.
Nalúsis: Poverty-stricken *chief* mentioned in a song.
nalúmxtsális: Bonds used to fasten a Cannibal; the word is etymologically connected with *nalutlcmaxtsális*.
nalúsyaman: Succession, as applied to the assumption of a *warchief*'s prerogatives by a son or other relative.
nalúsiaxtsem, "Forehead Thing": Small mask worn on a *wand* head-dress.
nalúl: Landslide, such as is caused by *Paualála* or *axtsiel*.
Nalqumlaia: Name given to their sister by the four settlers at *Nalqumuk* in the beginning of time.
nalúmx, "To Have Become Nothing For": Said of a position which is thrown away after serving its purpose.
nalúmxtsa: House-posts erected in front door.
nalúmxtsa: Posts extending from this world to the land above down which swarmed some of the first settlers in the beginning of time.
nalúmxtsemaxa, "Bella Coolas": Coolas borrowed during a *potlatch* by a donee who finds himself deficient. The implication is that he will have to famine up his clothing and work industriously to repay his indebtedness with heavy interest.
nalúmqíns: City created by a *wand* official to live a house from the intangible influences of the supernatural after the initiation of *wand* service.
nalúlqaxtsáin: The alleged entrance of a supernatural being into a *wand* service.
nalúmxtsáis: Semi-subterranean house with two levels for seats.
nalúmtlúis: Semi-subterranean house with a single level for seats.
Nalúlus, "Place of Flies": Place on north side of North Bentinck Arm, about one mile from its head.